## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PAGE 01 SAIGON 01450 020722Z 12 **ACTION EA-14** INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 IO-14 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /146 W ----- 044979 R 020610Z FEB 74 FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1340 INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST AMEMBASSY WARSAW AMEMBASSY JAKARTA AMEMBASSY TEHRAN AMEMBASSY TOKYO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY CANBERRA AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON AMEMBASSY BONN AMEMBASSY ROME AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM AMEMBASSY OSLO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE USLO PEKING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SAIGON 1450 E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR SUBJECT: COUNTERING HANOI'S DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE GVN 1. INCREASINGLY, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR COMMUNIST ALLIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND SUPPORTERS AROUND THE WORLD ARE EMPHASIZING IN THEIR PROPA-

GANDA THAT THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973, RECOGNIZES "TWO GOVERNMENTS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THEIR PURPOSE IS TO UNDERMIND AND ULTIMATELY DESTROY THE STANDING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. SUCCESS OF THIS PROPAGANDA WOULD SERIOUSLY HURT OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA; AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOSE ITS FALSITY. ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY FIND THE FOLLOWING POINTS OF USE FOR THAT PURPOSE.

- 2. THE ARGUMENT IS SOMETIMES MADE THAT, BECAUSE THE "PRG" SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT ALONG WITH THE U.S., THE GVN, AND THE DRV, THE "PRG" BY THIS FACT GAINED THE STATUS OF AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, OF THE FOUR SIGNATORIES OF THE AGREEMENT (GVN, U.S., DRV, AND "PRG"), TWO -- THE GVN AND THE U.S. -- MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS CLAIM. THIS IS WHY THE GVN AND THE U.S. DID NOT SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON THE SAME PAGE AS THE "PRG". WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON ANNOUNCED CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT, HE EXPRESSLY STATED THAT THE U.S. CONTINUED TO CONSIDER THE GVN AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM.
- 3. A SIMILAR ARGUMENT IS SOMETIMES ADVANCED WITH RESPECT TO THE "PRG'S" SUBSEQUENT PARTICIPATION IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM AND ITS SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT OF MARCH 2, 1973, DRAWN UP AT THAT CONFERENCE. THE ACT ITSELF, HOWEVER, IN ARTICLE 9, STATES "SIGNATURE OF THIS ACT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION OF ANY PARTY IN ANY CONNECTION IN WHICH IT HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACCORDED."
- 4. SINCE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE TWO GOVERNMENTS SOVEREIGN IN THE SAME TERRITORY, THE COMMUNIST CLAIM THAT THERE ARE "TWO GOVERNMENTS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM, IF ACCEPTED, WOULD MEAN THE PARTITION OF SOUTH VIETNAM. FOR THIS, THERE IS NO SANCTION IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. FROM ARTICLE 15 IT IS CLEAR THAT FOR PURPOSES OF THEUAGREEMENT THERE IS ONLY ONE AREA CALLED SOUTH VIETNAM, I.E., VIETNAM SOUTH OF THE 17TH PARALLEL. HANOI HAS NEVER CONTESTED THIS VIEW.
- 5. IN ARTICLES 9 (B) AND 12 (B) THE AGREEMENT CALLS FOR A GENERAL ELECTION, THE TERMS OF WHICH ARE TO BE AGREED ON BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES, TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM; BUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNTIL THIS GENERAL ELECTION IS HELD AND A NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED, THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT, THE GVN, REMAINS SOVEREIGN.

6. THE AGREEMENT SPEAKS OF TWO "PARTIES" IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND IT REFERS INDIRECTLY TO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TWO PARTIES AND TO THEE AREAS CONTROLLED BY EACH PARTY. HOWEVER, CONTRARY TO COMMUNIST CLAIMS, IN NO PLACE DOES THE AGREEMENT REFER TO "TWO GOVERNMENTS", "TWO ADMINISTRATIONS" OR "TWO REGIMES" IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

7. THE "PRG" CANNOT BE CONSIDERED THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM BECAUSE IT IS ONLY AN ARM OF NORTH VIETNAM, THE DRV. IT WAS CREATED IN JUNE 1969 BY NORTH VIETNAM AS A PUPPET "GOVERNMENT" TO REPLACE THE GVN AFTER AN EXPECTED COMMUNIST VICTORY IN THE SOUTH. THE "PRG'S" TOP DECISION-MAKING OFFICIALS ARE MEMBERS OF THE LAO DONG PARTY (THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTH VIETNAM): AND THEIR POLICY DECISIONS ARE MADE IN HANOI. MILITARILY THE "PRG" IS ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE GREAT BULK OF COMMUNIST MILITARY FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ON WEAPONS FURNISHED BY NORTH VIETNAM'S COMMUNIST ALLIES.

8. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF TERRITORY AND POPULATION ALSO THE PRG HAS NO CLAIM TO BE CALLED A "GOVERNMENT". WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, "PRG" CONTROL EXISTS ONLY IN THE WILDERNESS, UNPOPULATED AREAS OF SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ONLY WHERE IT HAS MILITARY UNITS TO ENFORCE ITS CONTROL. IN FACT, THE "PRG" IS RELIABLY ESTIMATED TO HAVE CONTROL OVER LESS THAT 3PERCENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM'S 19 MILLION PEOPLE. THE GVN, ON THE OTHER HAND, GOVERNS THE REMAINDER OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER NEARLY ALL OF SOUTH VIETNAM'S POPULATED AND PRODUCTIVE LAND. MARTIN

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